587 On the other hand, as we have seen, two women may have one nkita in common, especially if their combined bride prices have been used to obtain a single wife. In such a case the two bankɔ́lɔ́ and their descendants share their duties and prerogatives. In practice this situation arises only if the two bankɔ́lɔ́ are uterine sisters, but seldom in the case of other relatives. It does occur occasionally, however, as for instance in the case of Bolɔ́lɔ w'ɔmɛka and Bolɔ́mbɛ́ w'ikɔlɔ. Both were daughters of Bakutu b'a'ɛy'olɔ́nj́ɔ of Bokondo (Bɛɛcombo), but they had different mothers (Mbɛ́lɛ and w'Ɛngi, respectively). Their joint bride prices were used for the marriage of Bolɔ́lɔ wɛ Ekɔ́kɔ́ Bonkɔ́lɔ w'ɔ́tɛ (son of Bakutu and w'Ɛngi) to Bokungɛ of Engɔ́nj́ɔ (Bonkoso). [173]

Article XI

General Remarks on the Payment of the Bride Price

585 ●143 A few general comments should be added to all the foregoing ideas and rules concerning bride price.

1) During a woman's pregnancy no payment of any kind may be made. This principle is stated by the Nkundɔ́, and they strictly adhere to it. Pregnancy, however, must be understood as a pregnancy which is clearly visible to everyone, that is, the period of bolɔ́ka, and not that of the beginning, lɔfɔ́ɔwa, (1) during which payments

1. See Chapter X, Article II, 3 and 4.

may still be made.

If one inquires into the reason for this prohibition, one receives the reply that if payments were made during the bolɔ́ka the woman would have great difficulties in delivery and would stand very little chance of escaping death. (Pregnancy is considered a dangerous condition. Of a pregnant woman, the Nkundɔ́ say: akɛ́ki la lɛ́fa, "she is blocked by the sun," or "the sun stands across her path," that is, she is between life and death.) That is the only explanation given for the prohibition. Is it perhaps connected in some way with the belief in the elɛ́mɛ́? (See Chapter X, Article II, 1).

672 937 [892] in the case of an unmarried mother, see Chapter I, Part 1, Article III, 3.

[941] Adultery also becomes especially serious during the period preceding childbirth when there is a special prohibition against it, as endangering the lives of both mother and child, as we will explain in Chapter X, Article III.

7. Remarks and general conclusions

937 [781] 1) In former times the offense of adultery, even in its mildest form, that is, an isolated act, was one of the chief causes of "wars" between villages. Sometimes both sides called on their relatives by marriage to assist them, and the result was a general upheaval.

937 945 2) As a rule a husband wants his wife to be faithful. Doubtless there are exceptions. Most if not all of them were formerly found among the old polygamists. At their age they were disgusted with continual palavers, and their experience as men had taught them that they often became angry and uselessly complicated their little lives. They preferred to close their eyes, like good old Bonof' w'Ikolongó of Iŋkó (the Bombwanja clan of the Bofyó). He came to see me in the Christian village of Bombombe through which I was passing at the beginning of March, 1933. I asked him why he was adorned with so many bells, and he answered naively, "I always wear them. That way my wives know of my coming already from a distance. It gives them time to stop slandering me and to send their lovers away." When I expressed my surprise that he did not want to catch them in the act in order to punish them and end their infidelities, he answered me with a smile, "No, Father, jealousy . . . is for the young. As for me, I have seen so much of it that I no longer have any desire to get angry and make palavers for these trivialities."

938 937 945 Since the coming of the Europeans some unscrupulous men -- especially polygamists -- have been engaging in [328] a kind of procuring. They send their wives to commit adultery in order to be able to catch them in the act and thus enrich themselves. Or else they lend their wives for one night or more to laborers or soldiers who are

947 (464) already more "civilized," such as the neighborhood of Coquilhatville and the Lomangenya region.

947 949 Attention should be drawn to the danger of an increase in abortions for a new reason, namely the shame of giving birth outside of wedlock. As we have seen in Chapter I, Part II, Article IV, 3, premarital pregnancies have existed since time immemorial without resulting either in remorse or in paleness. Though the teaching of Christian morality, the feeling of shame must sooner or later be extended to this phenomenon. In explaining the evil of fornication, care should therefore be taken to insist on the fact that transgressing the Fifth Commandment by abortion is a far greater evil.

947 ●945 Voluntary abortion is not considered a moral error by the Nkundó. (2) In their eyes an imperfectly formed fetus, not viable,

2. An attitude which also exists in Europe at the present time, according to Haenecour in Kultuurleven, Vol. 6, no. 1, p. 21 (1938), and the brochure by Prof. D. Schockaert quoted there.

is not yet a man. It is only a human being in the process of formation, in potentia. Hence the custom of burying the aborted child 947 in the [466] hut or quite near it. Thus the spirit responsible for the [744] pregnancy will see that it is respected and repeat its benevolent [178] action. (1)

1. Others explain this custom by saying that the fetus already has a soul which remains near the tiny body and will take the first opportunity to re-enter the mother's body.

But if it is voluntary an abortion is always a wrong against family and society, for it deprives the family of a member on whom

841 they could count. Nevertheless, if it happens to a young unmarried mother, little or no fuss is made over it because no one can feel wronged; at most the culprit is scolded. For a married woman, on the other hand, it is one of the most serious infractions. Her husband has an immediate right to the fetus that would have become his child. He cannot beat or mistreat the offender in punishment, for her condition will not permit violence, but he can abandon her to her fate by refusing her all assistance, in particular by refusing to bring her firewood, the heat of which she greatly needs under such circumstances. For she has done him an enormous wrong and has acted with real malice (ebojokel'inkinyá, he says), since he married her chiefly so that she would give him descendants. If she dies it is her own fault. Even her family will not support her, for [842] they would be accused of being involved in the crime; inevitably they would lose the case and be condemned to indemnify the husband.

● 843 An abortion which is ascertained to be involuntary [i.e., a miscarriage] is treated like an accident or an illness and the appropriate legal stipulations are applied to it. Thus if it happens while the woman is at her parents' home, the responsibility for it falls on them. Usually the palaver is settled in a friendly manner; the family makes a few nkomf payments, and the question is closed. If relations between the husband and his son-in-law are somewhat strained, the dispute may be drawn out and may result in the breaking up of the marriage. If the woman dies from the accident, the rules given in Article X of the preceding chapter come into play. [469]

Article II. Conception and Pregnancy

842 133 The Nkundó have only a partial notion of the phenomena of conception. They are well aware of which acts cause the procreation of children. They have a perfect knowledge of anatomy and a rich vocabulary pertaining to sexual life. But they know only as much about physiological processes as experience can teach them. Furthermore, they believe that the act of procreation must be repeated several times in order to produce its natural result. Note,

Nkundo,

finally, that sexual relations are strictly forbidden to them during menstruation (-kpna or dna nsingé, literally "to be ill from" or "to see the moon," and other similar expressions). The reason given is that a woman in that difficult condition should be spared all additional annoyance.

1. Elimá

The Nkundó attribute the procreation of children sometimes to God (Njakomba) and sometimes to spirits (elimá, pl. bilimá). God forms (-fúnga) the children in the mother's womb, but at the same time the bilimá provide the men among the progeny. (1)

[192]

1. Contrary to what is reported by Father Lemaeghe (Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 362) concerning the Ekonda, the tribes that I have known never address prayers for children to God, although they attribute the gift of children to Him. This matter does not concern God (Njakomba or Mbombifándí) directly, but rather a particular elimá.

Sterility, which is a common phenomenon here, is not imputed to sorcery but is considered an innate flaw. Natives usually claim that God refuses them children.

There is no point in trying to make the natives resolve this apparent contradiction; they would not succeed. They simply state the two points. I say "apparent contradiction," for as the Nkundó admit that the bilimá are subject to Njakomba, the contradiction is not real, and the two propositions can be [470] reconciled by explaining the intervention of the spirits as an operation which is dependent on divine action: they are secondary, intermediary causes, although our natives do not make this philosophical analysis.

To explain all the beliefs pertaining to spirits would be to go outside the framework of this study. Nevertheless, we cannot leave out those details which closely touch on our subject.

776 825 There is a large number of diverse spirits, and almost every village has several in its territory. Each one has its own habitat in some singular place or object which stimulates the imagination: enormous trees, oval hollows which form ponds of a sort (*dimbo*, pl. *bedimbo*), steep slopes, extraordinary pieces of limonite, whirlpools in streams and rivers, etc.

776 842 The Nkundó pray to the *bilimá* in order to obtain children. For that purpose they make offerings of food and money. To test someone's feelings toward it, an *elimá* may come to him in the evening or at night in the guise of a known person and ask for some small present. Unhappy is he who shows himself to be stingy; he will be deprived of the object of his desire, or his child will be premature or born sickly or deformed.

783 842 776 In addition to taking a generally friendly attitude toward the spirit, another means of ensuring his intervention is open to a woman. She can procure some kaolin (*nongo*) at the spirit's habitat (a *dimbo*, preferably). In the evening she mixes it with some plants. She smears her abdomen with this mixture, known as *inaá*. She continues the treatment throughout her pregnancy; it has the property of removing everything in her which is of such a nature that it might oppose the spirit (*ikíkola lokoko jwá bilima ilóle ndá likundó*).

[849]

776 842 Certain water spirits are known for their generosity, for instance Itómbálombé or Ekótalombé of Mpaká, [471] who is considered to be a female being. She goes on distant voyages to seek a supply of children. On her return she appears to someone and communicates the news to him so that he may spread it. But she orders all women who desire her favors to observe some form of abstinence. Sometimes she sings to amuse or calm the children. On that day mothers must not use songs to pacify their little ones or to put them to sleep and can use only soft words for that purpose. Otherwise the child would die, for to do so would be to disregard the old *elimá*'s kindness.

[787] Sometimes the spirits give signs of their blessing. A woman who is bathing on the shore just at the time a cargo arrives there will soon see her most intimate wish fulfilled. From forest spirits

776 962 [791] women receive other signs: an unexpected obstacle in the form of a stone, a stump, a root, the capture of a tree frog which comes and jumps onto the shoulder, etc.

A spirit loves and protects only a child he himself has given. He abhors and hates to the death the living gifts of his fellow spirits. If there are several lolimá in the vicinity of a single village, however, the Nkundó explain the absence of the usual rivalries by considering them as related: one is the husband, another the wife, others the children; that is why they do not oppose each other.

776 943 Thus an elimá is hostile to any fetus not of his creation. Nevertheless, his spiteful action only begins at the end of several weeks, and even then the pregnancy must have gone far enough to be visible (ifimi ifiwia iolimbá). Does it take time for him to obtain evidence that the fruit in question is undoubtedly his own girl?

In any case the consequence of this belief is that a woman who has been pregnant for several months cannot long [472] reside in foreign parts, and one who, after conception, has accompanied a husband who has gone to work elsewhere, returns to her village to complete the last period of pregnancy and to deliver.

[751] However, there is an antidote (mongó) against this murderous action of the spirits. It may be obtained from a person who knows the recipe (this person is not the nkanga or "doctor"). The protective compound is wrapped in a bit of cloth and, by means of a thread of fibers from the lokéká creeper, is tied in the middle of a rope braided with the fibers of the ikuloyafodó bush, which the threatened woman ties around her hips. (1)

[114] [115]

1. These data on the subject of the elimá is diametrically opposed to the ideas of Father Schebesta (Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge, p. 241, and W. Schmidt, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Vol. 4, p. 322), based on the word of his interpreter, Bern. Bongonga of Bodiama (Bombwanja) (now deceased), who was

obliged in my presence to retract his statements under the pressure of crushing objections on the part of a considerable number of other natives. See also Father Boelaert, Hooger Leven, 1938, p. 60, and Congo, 1938, Vol. 1, p. 42, as well as Hulstaert, Congo, 1938, Vol. 2, p. 670.

2. The beginnings of pregnancy

The first months following the cessation of menstruation are called bofowa. The oral expression is -fowa ɔfɔmi (ɔfɔmi meaning "fetus")

A woman who has just conceived no longer has any success in looking for caterpillars or in fishing (by scooping, whether with bofowa hooks or drugs, called lɔnɔlɔ). She is unable to catch anything while the efforts of her companions are fruitful. That is because the bofowa is wɔ́kɔ́, that is, a cause for a lack of success (bɔ́mɔnɔ la wɔ́kɔ́ lɔ́kɔ́nɔ) Note that this word may be derived from the verb kɔ́a, "to place an obstacle."

The husband of a woman in this condition is no better off. His wife's wɔ́kɔ́ is communicated to him as well as to all those of his relatives who [473] live in the same village or, as the natives say, ɛ́ɛ́ mɔnɔkɔ́ ɔmɔ́kɔ́kɔ́, "one who eats from the same pot," and otɔ́ɔ́ lɔmɔ́kɔ́ ɔmɔ́kɔ́kɔ́, "one who lives in the same house." Friends are not harmed, even if they live in the same settlement as the pregnant woman, nor are relatives living elsewhere.

The wɔ́kɔ́ brings misfortune to anyone tainted with it. Thus if he goes hunting, he will return empty handed; if he participates in a war he will be wounded. Furthermore, if there is a leopard in the vicinity he will choose to kill that man. An elephant will detect his presence and try to kill him. A snake will bite him more readily than another. At market he will be charged more for everything.

This burdensome situation continues during the entire period of pregnancy, hence until the birth of the child.

[493] 177 The Nkundó know an antidote (monge or lowenjó), however, a means of getting rid of such annoying obstacles. Of the three known processes the last is especially common at present.

[125] 1) The husband (or any person to whom the wékí is attached and who wants to be rid of it) picks up a nkúngulí chilopod, naturally by means of a leaf, encloses it in a large leaf which he binds with a thin creeper, and makes a small package of it, as one makes a package of meat, fish, etc. He gives this package to his wife, who thinks it contains food and opens it without any suspicion. But when she sees the detested arthropod, she throws it far from her with cries of disgust, while her husband says to her, "You are the one who remains with the wékí." As a result he himself is freed from it.

2) A second means is to take the pregnant woman by the nose when an opportunity presents itself and to say to her: "May the wékí remain attached to you."

[152] [240] 3) The woman prepares some tshókódó (manioc leaves [474] salted and dipped in palm oil). The two spouses eat it together contrary to the usual practice. But the husband arranges matters in such a way that his wife gets the last mouthful and keeps the leaf which serves as a plate and represents the wékí. Then the husband says to her, "Keep the wékí for yourself."

The wékí cannot be detached from the woman, for she is the bomángo wékí, "the owner of the wékí," the one who is the basis for it. For her it continues until the child is on the point of being born (elakí ó yémi yótónda, literally "he has come to the end of his growth," or yótékama, "has turned to one side"), and thus, in practice, until the birth of the child.

[152] If a first wife dies at the beginning of her first pregnancy, a cesarian operation must be performed on her. The fetus is removed (it is still no more than an embryo -- ilémgélí or bokelé, literally "an egg," or ilóngó, literally "blood") so that it can be buried behind the hut. An omission of this practice would result in the death through pregnancy of the deceased's husband's other wives or of the women he will subsequently marry.

3. The period of prohibitions

●[47] When a pregnancy is far advanced -- about two or three months before delivery (a period which has now been reduced to one or two weeks) -- the Nkundó proceed with the "preservation of the fetus" (bákomba ɓómi, "they preserve the fetus," or bóóka ɓómi, "they fasten the fetus"). The period called bóóka or bóóko begins at that moment and does not end until after childbirth. The oral expression is lómba bóóka, "to bind the period of sexual prohibitions." (1) This term also extends to all special

[314] 1. The expression lómba lómbó is also used. A similar period of sexual prohibitions called by the same name still exists for, among other things, circumcision, the construction of a hunting enclosure, and the setting of elephant traps.

prohibitions (bóóló) resulting from this condition. [475]

For the first pregnancy the period begins with the following [314] ceremony: The woman's mother smears her daughter's head and [502] all of her body with a red paint called ngóla. This paint, usually used as make-up, is used here as a mark of affection and given to honor and congratulate the future mother on this happy occasion. When the ngóla is somewhat hardened, the mother smears her daughter's hair with it and rolls the hair into little balls, using an iron bondongó, which is the instrument usually used for hairdressing. Then she gives her daughter a hen and some bananas to eat. From then on the pregnant woman may no longer eat hens, for the con- [315] sumption of this bird (which the Nkundó place in the same category as ducks) and its eggs would stop the normal development of the fetus. The ceremony is called fía bongata (elóku among the Bombwanja), "to smear with red paint in little balls."

The woman's father and the husband's kin feel strongly about being present at this ceremony, for it is considered very important. I know of an intense palaver which occurred because

§§3 a woman's mother proceeded with the ceremony in the absence of the husband and his family. The latter were furious. They revealed the matter so that if anything should happen later to the mother or the child the law would be on their side. In that way the husband could evade responsibility and place the blame on his wife and her family so that they would have to pay an indemnity.

The pregnant woman does not remove the paint for three or [36] four weeks after the ceremony. Nowadays the use of paint having [38] disappeared except for certain occasions and among older persons, it is left on for only one night. In addition the surface smeared has been reduced to a line in the middle of the head or even one single spot.

[36] During this ceremony the Bombwanja have a public confession [37] (etano) of the lovers. But since the Bokéké wait until after delivery, we will deal with it later on.

On the night following the ceremony described, the couple [39] [478] "lasses the fetus" through their carnal union. Were they to omit this act, the child would die before birth.

For subsequent pregnancies the fastening of the fetus is no longer preceded by the same formalities.

[40] The couple continue to have relations during the entire [41] period of pregnancy "in order to open an easy passage for the child." §§3 On the other hand, they must strictly observe marital fidelity. §§7 Nevertheless, a polygamist may have relations with his other wives.

In addition to this essential act, the interdict also includes a secondary part: the couple may not even commit acts even very remotely related to procreation. Thus they may not:

1) Touch in any way whatsoever -- even to shaking their hands -- persons with whom they have had adulterous relations; such persons must therefore be avoided.

2) Sit next to such persons.

3) Look at them.

4) Enter a house or apartment where they are.

5) Eat "from the same pot."

6) Lie in another couple's bed.

7) Other persons may no longer sleep in the bed of the couple bound by the bokeka.

§83 §87 This law requiring a most strict fidelity lasts until the end of the bolaka for the husband, but until the weaning of the child for the wife. It is especially strict for the period of seclusion (see below, Article III, 3).

The violation of the essential stipulation of this interdict (-fónda bolaka) results either in the death of the woman during pregnancy and especially during seclusion or in the death of the child later on. [477]

A. If the woman dies during this period, the suspicion is placed a priori on her husband. The Nkundó say ebótónda wélí, "he has transgressed against his wife." Unless he can prove his innocence through public actions, the judgment of a magician, or autopsy[sic].

If the woman has been the victim of a seducer, he is held responsible and must pay a large indemnity equivalent to the bride price that was paid for the deceased. If no other man is involved, the affair has no consequences.

§83 §87 §94 §95 §53 In the past the combined autopsy and Caesarian section was always performed. It had a dual purpose: to remove the child and to examine the mother. If the operation revealed the existence of a "stomach" (likundú), the deceased was of a noxious (lilóko) nature or constitution and therefore caused the death of her child. If the child remained alive, it proved that he was of a magically superior nature and was able to resist the natural evil spells of his mother, which thus turned against their unwitting author. (1)

1. The Nkundó believe that only animals have a "stomach" (likundú). If a human being has one, that is, if his viscera are large, curved, in compartments, in a word, abnormal, that person is an evildoer. He commits evil acts voluntarily or, most frequently, unknowingly. Some men with a likundú can be recognized by the fact that they eat their nails, hair, etc. The Nkundó must certainly have observed relationships between this habit and a deformity of the stomach.

§5 The child is given to a wet nurse (a Mamwoman, a stranger, a Bomwa woman, depending on who is available).

§47 §45 §43 If the mother's body shows no signs of evil-doing or of "the hatred of others," it is thought that her death was caused by evil spells on the part of the child. Thereupon some kill the child to prevent it from doing harm during its whole life; others, on the contrary, spare it despite everything.

§41 §37 If the husband (for it is he above all who is involved, since he is most exposed to possible lapses) has unfortunately been guilty of misconduct, his wife has only a slim chance [47E] of salvation. Nevertheless, it is still possible for her to be saved, on condition that from then on her husband abstain from any sexual act and from all the accidental gestures and actions described above. The least he can do under those circumstances is to inform his wife of his indiscretion so that she can take precautions. If he wants to §32 ward off any possibility of causing his wife's certain death, he sends her home and gives his father-in-law a pledge (ndenge) through which he recognizes his guilt and shows his intention to assume the entire responsibility for his misdeed. An upright man prefers to act in this fashion, for he never knows whether one day he will not inadvertently violate one of the prohibitions.

§53 §37 B. The child's death is the result of the putrefaction of the mother's milk, the mother being thus incapable of nursing. As in the preceding case, the offense is a priori imputed to the husband -- tat ekoma bôsa is nkwa. (1) Since he has wronged no

[§5] 1. Nkwa is an illness caused by the violation of prescriptions of a sexual nature (See Chapter I, Part II, Article IV, 2, A).

one but himself, no palaver ensues; the "natural" punishment is sufficient. This does not mean that he is not the object of evil tongues; people point at him and at times remind him of his misdeed. To remove the blame from himself, he can resort to

[67] [67] an ordeal or ask a magician's judgment or a magical practice to reveal the culprit. The culprit who is discovered is not subject to any social sanction; he is punished by the ordeal itself or the spell cast against him.

[68] If the mother's adultery is proven through her having been caught in the act, her seducer is considered guilty. He must pay the death indemnity (20 to 30 copper rings). The woman is not at all involved as far as society is concerned; it is a matter between her and her husband.

[70] [69] In order to prevent any harmful effect on the child, the Nkundó resort to a potion called bondandoka, which will be explained in [476] the next article, 2. "Medication" by scarification might also be mentioned. This therapy is applied to the parents as well as to the child. If the father is wealthy, he invites the wife's family to come and perform the operation themselves. As in all comparable situations, the invitation is accompanied by the handing over of a pledge, and farewell presents (belingaka) are given at the end of the visit. In addition the wife very often goes to live with her parents for some time after her seclusion in order to increase the efficacy of the treatment.

[75] [74] The sanction incurred for a violation of the secondary stipulations is less serious. For instance, the pregnant woman suffers from violent migraines, which often cause fainting and sometimes make delivery very difficult; thus they can even cause death. The husband is seldom bothered by these headaches. But he takes great pains to faithfully observe the law in order to spare his wife such painful consequences and to avoid the death of the child being born.

Apart from sexual abstention and the rules connected with it, the couple are also subject to various prohibitions which are clearly based on superstitious ideas. Thus:

1) They must neither go down into a well nor dig in the earth. The woman would die, for it is as if they were digging her grave.

2) They must not carry anything together with another person, for that is how corpses are carried, and such carrying would be the cause of death, through imitation of the woman's funeral procession.

3) They must not climb up on the roof (they are not forbidden to climb a palm tree in order to cut off nuts)

4) They must not eat animals killed by a carnivore (leopard, crocodile, etc.), or the child would die a sudden and unnatural death like the victims of such wild beasts. [600]

5) They must abstain from animals such as porcupines, anteaters, certain birds, crocodiles, and gavials, (1) who are in

> 1. In this region women never eat snakes or bats (lokóóla, lonkókó, ilokyá).

the habit of living in the hollows of trees or in dens. The delivery would be very painful if they ate them, for the child would roll up and crouch in the mother's womb. Fish that find shelter in passageways do not produce such consequences and are therefore eaten.

6) They must not eat turtles (2). A very difficult birth

> 2. In some tribes (Bongili, Bonkoso) women always abstain from eating such reptiles.

is feared, for the turtle withdraws into its shell and encloses its anal extremities as in a vise, and the child would do the same.

7) They must not eat the head of a monkey. The child would be born with deep-set eyes resembling the monkey's.

8) They must not eat the large antelope known as mbuli, because it has a long neck and flabby flesh, and the child would acquire the same defects.

9) They must not eat the lioólé fish, which would cause migraines, since it swims fiercely without direction.

The results of boleka and the obligations resulting from it are connected with natural paternity. Thus, if a woman becomes pregnant as a result of relations with a regular, recognized lover, the latter must assume all responsibility. He is required to "fasten the fetus" and to observe all the regulations pertaining to the

bebeka. The same is true if the pregnancy is the result of adultery: the natural father must bear all the consequences of his act. The husband is absolved from them and has no relations with his wife until the end of this particular pregnancy. The culprit must give him a pledge by which he publically recognizes his responsibility, and he is expected to fulfill all the duties of a husband. Therefore he may have relations with the woman during her entire pregnancy without paying additional indemnities. If any accident befalls the mother or the child, he is made to pay a large indemnity.

Now finally that, as we have pointed out in Chapter II, Article XI, no bride-price payment can be made from the time the pregnancy becomes visible until after the end of the period of seclusion.

To facilitate childbirth the previously mentioned concoction of various leaves mixed with kaolin (asaf) is continuously applied to the abdomen. Medical scarifications on the abdomen are also performed.

Finally, as the time of delivery approaches, special douches made from a concoction of the bark of the bofimbo tree (1) are

> 1. Certain douches, especially the one made of bofimbo, are also used as abortive agents.

administered. All these treatments are called bezé by bwanji, that is, medicines (for the purpose) of an easy delivery.

Article III. Birth

1. Delivery

A woman remains with her husband for childbirth; she does not go home to her family. Only exceptionally does she give birth elsewhere -- for instance, if she has been sent home for one reason or another, or during a trip, while working in the fields, near a stream, or a spring, etc. Such sudden unexpected deliveries